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ABSTRACT

This manual is designed to teach writing to native speakers of Qawiaraq Inupiaq, a regional dialect of Alaskan Inupiaq Eskimo. Spelling is emphasized. An introductory section for teachers details the use of the manual, chapter by chapter, and suggests classroom activities. The first chapter provides an introduction to the writing system of Qawiaraq Inupiaq. Subsequent chapters outline the characteristics of vowels, stop consonants, long vowels and diphthongs, syllables, voiced fricatives, voiceless fricatives, nasal consonants, and long consonants. Each chapter includes exercises. (MSE)

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QAWIARAQ INUPIAQ

LITERACY MANUAL

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QAWIARAQ INUPIAQ

LITERACY MANUAL

by

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produced for
The Bilingual-Bicultural Program
Northwest Community College
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PREFACE

This manual is based on earlier versions which I prepared for the Kobuk and North Slope dialects of Inupiaq in 1980. Under contract from the Bilingual-Bicultural Program at Northwest Community College, I traveled to Unalakleet in March, 1986, to work with Irene Katchatag and Maryann Haugen in adapting the existing literacy manuals to the Qawiaraq dialect as it is spoken in Unalakleet.

Qawiaraq is one of the two dialects of the Seward Peninsula Inupiaq dialect group. The other is Bering Strait, spoken in the western Seward Peninsula and on the islands of Bering Strait. The Qawiaraq dialect found on the eastern shore of Norton Sound, principally at Unalakleet and Shaktoolik, was brought there around the turn of the century by people who moved in from the lower Kuzitrin River area which includes the original place known as Qawiaraq (sometimes spelled Kawerak or Kauwerak). The original language of Unalakleet was Unaliq, the northernmost dialect of Central Yupik. Along with Qawiaraq and Unaliq, Malimiut Inupiaq is also spoken in Unalakleet, having moved down from the Kotzebue Sound area possibly two hundred years ago or more.

This manual is designed for Qawiaraq Inupiaq of the eastern Norton Sound but should also be useful for the other dialects of Qawiaraq, including the Fish River dialect at White Mountain and Golovin and the original Qawiaraq spoken by people of the Kuzitrin area who now reside mostly in Teller. In this manual you will find brief English definitions of the Inupiaq words to be spelled. These definitions are not complete, and the manual is not to be used as a dictionary. The definitions are there only to help students identify Inupiaq words and spell them correctly.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION TO WRITING QAWIARAQ INUPIAQ

The Qawiaraq alphabet is the same as that used for other Seward Peninsula dialects of Inupiaq, except that Qawiaraq has **f** and **ch**:

a b f g ġ h i k l ł m n ŋ p q r s t u v w y '

This alphabet was designed in 1947 by Roy Ahmaogak, an Inupiaq man from Barrow, and Eugene Nida, a linguist with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The version of the alphabet used in the North Slope and Kobuk dialects includes several additional letters for sounds not found in the Seward Peninsula dialects.

Most letters of the Inupiaq alphabet are also used in the English alphabet. Letters found in both are

a b c f g h i k l m n p q r s t u v w y.

Some letters used in English are **not** used in Inupiaq. These are

d e j o x z.

In addition, the Inupiaq alphabet has several letters not used in English. Special letters used in Qawiaraq and not in English are

ġ ł ŋ ' .

These letters represent sounds not found in English, except for **ŋ**, which has the sound of English **ng**.

People who know how to write English and speak Inupiaq will not find it very difficult to begin writing Inupiaq. Most of the letters are the same as English letters. Also, Inupiaq writing is in many ways far more regular than English writing. For example, English has silent consonants, which are written but never pronounced, like the **g** in **night** or **daughter**. Sometimes, one letter in English may represent different sounds. For example, the same letter **a** is found in **man**, **father**, and **sofa** but is pronounced differently in each word. In Inupiaq, letters

do not change pronunciation, and there are no homonyms, words that are spelled differently and pronounced the same, such as English **eye** and **I**, or **so**, **sow**, and **sew**.

Here are examples of Inupiaq words that contain letters also found in English:

a	**anu**	"harness"
b	**kubraq**	"fishnet"
ch	**chipiipiiq**	"chickadee"
f	**qaffik**	"wolverine"
g	**atigit**	"parka"
i	**ini**	"house"
k	**kamik**	"boot"
l	**taliq**	"arm"
m	**matu**	"cover"
n	**naniq**	"light"
p	**panik**	"daughter"
q	**qanuq**	"how"
r	**iri**	"eye"
s	**isiq**	"smoke"
t	**timi**	"body"
u	**ulu**	"woman's knife, ulu"
v	**aurvik**	"caterpillar"
w	**awik**	"cut in two"
y	**qayaq**	kayak"

Even though these letters are found in both languages, they do not sound the same in both. For instance, the **g** sound in English is very different from the **g** in Inupiaq even though they are written with the same letter. If you say an Inupiaq word and an English word both containing **g**, you will see that the English **g** seems harder. Also, Inupiaq **q** is very different from English **q** and represents a sound not found in English.

Here are examples of Inupiaq words containing letters NOT found in English:

ġ	**niġi**	"meat"
ŋ	**aŋun**	"man"
ł	**qałqhapak**	"axe"
'	**aa'aaŋiq**	"oldsquaw duck"

The Inupiaq letter **ŋ** sounds like the **ng** in the English words **long** or **singer** (but not **finger**, which has a **g** sound along with the **ng**). The glottal stop, written in Inupiaq as **'**, is also found in English, although it is not written. For example, when English speakers say **uh uh** to mean "no", there is a glottal stop between **uh** and **uh**.

In Inupiaq we have two-letter combinations that form a single sound (called "digraphs"). These are **ch**, **sr**, **kh**, and **qh**. When we pronounce these sounds, we do not say an **s** and then an **r**, but pronounce a sound different from both **s** and **r**. The same is true for **kh** and **qh**, which are sounds different from **k**, **q**, or **h**.

sr	**siksrik**	"ground squirrel
kh	**sinikhama**	"when I sleep"
qh	**mayuqhama**	"when I go up"

You have now seen all the letters that are used in writing Qawiaraq Inupiaq. In the rest of the manual, you will learn what sounds these letters stand for and how to use them.

Punctuation in Inupiaq is essentially the same as in English: Sentences begin with capital letters, commas indicate pauses, a period is used to end a sentence, and a question mark indicates a question.

The Inupiaq writing system has been specially designed by linguists and speakers of Inupiaq to make accurate spelling of the language possible. Before the present system was developed, many people did their best to write Inupiaq based on their knowledge of English spelling, but the writing was frequently inconsistent and hard to read. Inupiaqs who know the modern writing system can read books written in it from their own area or from other Inupiaq areas of Alaska.

EXERCISE 1.1

Read the following words, using the English to help you understand the Inupiaq:

sawik	"knife"	niġi	"meat"
ulu	"woman's knife"	timi	"body"
amiq	"skin, hide"	taqqiq	"moon"
uniq	"armpit"	malik	"follow"
panik	"daughter"	nasaq	"cap"
kamik	"skin boot"	aŋun	"man"
natiq	"floor"	naniq	"light"
ini	"house"	iłiq	"being"
amaġuq	"wolf"	apun	"snow"
iġaluk	"fish"	atiq	"name"
igaliq	"window"	tupak	"wake up"
umik	"whisker"	qanuq	"how"
masu	"Eskimo potato"	manaq	"fishhook"
tarra	"that's all"	aki	"money"

qiruk	"firewood"	niksik	"large hook"
siu	"bow of boat"	akłaq	"brown bear"
nigaq	"snare"	qatiq	"be white"
inuk	"person"	ikuutaq	"skin scraper"
malġuk	"two"	siksrik	"ground squirrel"
kina	"who?"	kassiq	"wall"
siŋiq	"bootlace"	pasi	"blame"
patiq	"bone marrow"	putu	"hole"
atigit	"parka"	nanuq	"polar bear"
nani	"where?"	qaniq	"mouth"

CHAPTER TWO
VOWELS

Language sounds may be grouped into two classes: vowels and consonants. The vowels of Inupiaq are **a**, **i**, and **u**. All other sounds are consonants. Here are examples of the three vowel sounds:

a	**qaŋa**	"when?"
i	**ini**	"house"
u	**ulu**	"woman's knife"

These vowels may occur at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of a word. The English vowels **e** and **o** are not used in Inupiaq.

Inupiaq **a** has the sound of English **a** in **what**, **i** has the sound of English **i** in **sit** or **tip**, and **u** sounds like English **u** in **put**. Sometimes Inupiaq vowels change their sound slightly because of the sound that comes before or after. Say these words and notice how the sound of **i** changes depending on whether it is next to a **k** or a **q**:

kikmik	"heel"
qimiq	"net line"

The same is true of **u**. In these words **u** sounds somewhat different because **k** follows in one case and **q** in the other:

anuk	"two harnesses"
qanuq	"how"

Even though the **i**'s and **u**'s in the above words may sound slightly different, they are written with the same letters, because we know that these two vowels may change their sound depending on the sound that comes before or after them. The change in **a** before **k** or **q** is much slighter:

aġnaq	"woman"
aġnak	"two women"

EXERCISE 2.1

Fill in the correct vowel (**a, i, u**) and pronounce the words:

A.

1.	____ni	"go out"
	____ni	"house
2.	____luk	"lick"
	____luk	"two woman's knives"
3.	____miq	"skin"
	____miq	"water"
4.	____mik	"collapse, of an old house"
	____mik	"whisker"
5.	____wik	"cut in half"
	s____wik	"knife"
6.	____ki	"money"
	____ki	"burn, be on fire"
7.	____niq	"finish, stop"
	____niq	"armpit"
8.	____tiq	"name"
	____tiq	"return"
9.	____pun	"snow"
	____pun	"oar"
10.	____lik	"tear, rip"
	____lik	"burn, scorch"

B.

1.	aġ____	"kick"
	aġ____	"stern of boat"
2.	ik____	"burn"
	ik____	"patch of salmonberries"
3.	tun____	"sell"
	tun____	"back"
4.	sil____	"weather"
	sil____	"drifted carcass"
5.	kin____	"who"
	kin____	"soak skin in water"
6.	an____	"harness"
	an____	"go out"
7.	in____	"house"
	in____	"play, of animals"
8.	ip____	"a handle"
	ip____	"drown"
9.	timim____	"on the body"
	timim____	"of my body"
10.	t____nu	"back"
	t____nu	"push"

C.

1.	s____li	"cut with scissors"
	s____li	"also, more"
2.	t____mi	"body"
	t____mi	"path"
3.	s____wik	"knife"

	s____wik	"what am I doing?"
4.	s____pi	"blow"
	s____pi	"to block"
5.	s____nik	"dust"
	s____nik	"what things?"
6.	kaŋ____q	"snow goose"
	kaŋ____q	"source of a river"
7.	am____q	"skin"
	am____q	"pack on one's back"
8.	igl____q	"travel"
	igl____q	"laugh"
9.	k____pi	"stab"
	k____pi	"cut, sever"
10.	n____pit	"get caught in a trap"
	n____pit	"voices"
11.	nan____q	"polar bear"
	nan____q	"lamp"
12.	p____pik	"bird's tail"
	p____pik	"sore that doesn't heal"
13.	qan____q	"mouth"
	qan____q	"how"
14.	sik____t	"chunks of ice"
	sik____t	"bow the head"
15.	n____ġit	"chunks of meat"
	n____ġit	"pull"

EXERCISE 2.2

Choose the correct Inupiaq spelling by circling one word on each line:

1.	snow	apan	apun	ipun	upun
2.	person	inuk	inak	anuk	unuk
3.	ten	qalit	qilut	qulit	qalut
4.	name	utiq	atiq	atuq	ituq
5.	light	nuniq	nunaq	nanuq	naniq
6.	man	aŋun	iŋan	uŋun	uŋan
7.	floor	nutiq	nataq	nutiq	natiq
8.	fish	iġiluk	iġalik	iġuluk	iġaluk
9.	knife	suwik	siwak	sawik	sawuk
10.	skin	umiq	amiq	amaq	amuq
11.	burrow	siti	sati	sita	situ
12.	meat	naġi	nuġi	niġi	niġa
13.	nose	qiŋuq	qiŋaq	qaŋuq	qiŋiq
14.	woman	aġnaq	aġnuq	ġniq	uġnaq
15.	elbow	akusik	ikisik	ikusik a	kusik
16.	daughter	panuk	punik	panik	pinik
17.	land	nana	nuni	nani	nuna
18.	to where?	nupmun	nipmun	napmun	nupman
19.	foot	atigak	itigak	itagak	itiguk
20.	tongue	uġaq	uġiq	uġuq	aġuq
21.	boot	kumik	kamuk	kimik	kamik

CHAPTER THREE
STOP CONSONANTS

Inupiaq consonants are either **stops**, **fricatives**, or **nasals**, depending on how they are made in the mouth. This chapter is about the stops, which are **p, b, t, ch, k, q,** and **'**. These are called stops because the air coming from the lungs is stopped for an instant at some point in the mouth when they are pronounced.

1. p is made by closing the lips and blocking the air. Pronounce these words containing **p**:

panik	"daughter"	**ipu**	"handle"
putu	"hole"	**qupi**	"to crack"

Practice reading these syllables containing **p** in combination with the three vowels, **a, i,** and **u:**

pa	**ap**	**apa**
pi	**ip**	**ipi**
pu	**up**	**upu**

2. b is made like **p** by closing the lips, but **b** is "voiced" while **p** is voiceless. Pronounce these words containing **b**:

kubraq	"fishnet"
isibruaġaq	"whisper"
qibliq	"to be shiny"

b is found only before **l** or **r**.

3. ch is a rare sound in Qawiaraq, found almost always at the beginning of words. It sounds just like the English **ch**:

chaqammuq	"fall noiselessly into the water"
chipiipiiq	"boreal chickadee"

4. **t** is made in the mouth by touching the tip of the tongue to the ridge behind the upper teeth and stopping the air. Pronounce these words containing **t**:

timit	"bodies"	**titiq**	"a mark"
taliq	"arm"	**nutik**	"leap"

Practice reading these syllables containing **t** in combination with the three vowels:

ta	**at**	**ata**
ti	**it**	**iti**
tu	**ut**	**utu**

5. Inupiaq has two stops that are made in the back of the mouth, and these are written **k** and **q**. **k** is pronounced at the back of the mouth, the same as in English. Say these words which contain **k**:

kumak	"louse"	**kuik**	"lift"
kituk	"which two?"	**ikpik**	"bluff"

Practice reading these syllables containing **k**:

ka	**ak**	**aka**
ki	**ik**	**iki**
ku	**uk**	**uku**

6. The **q** sound does not exist in English and is pronounced farther back in the throat than **k**. Pronounce these words containing **q**:

qaniq	"mouth"	**siitquq**	"knee"
atqaqtuq	"he went down"	**qiqsraq**	"something frozen"

Since most of those who learn to write Inupiaq already know how to write English, some people confuse the **k** and **q**, because Inupiaq has a pair of back consonants where English has only one. But the sounds of **k** and **q** are really quite different, and if you confuse them in writing, you may write a different word from the one you want.

tuuq	"ice chisel"	**kimik**	"with who?"
tuuk	"two ice chisels"	**qimiq**	"net line"
panik	"daughter"	**imik**	"collapse"
paniq	"dry"	**imiq**	"water"

In these cases, if you write **k** instead of **q** or the other way around, you will change the meaning of the word, which can be confusing. Exercises in this book will give practice on the difference between **k** and **q**.

7. The last stop consonant in Inupiaq is called **glottal stop** and is spelled with an apostrophe ('). Glottal stop is pronounced far down in the throat and is found only in the middle of words. Here are some words containing glottal stop for you to say out loud:

aa'aaŋiq	"oldsquaw duck"	**ii'i**	"yes"
a'aa	"close call!"	**ya'**	"yes"

The stop consonants **t, k, and q** may come at the beginnning, middle, or end of a word. **p** may come at the beginning or middle of a word, but not at the end. **b** can come only in the middle of the word before **r** or **l**.

	Beginning		Middle		End	
p	pana	"spear"	apun	"snow"	----	
b	----		kubraq	"net"		
t	taliq	"arm"	patiq	"marrow"	aġnat	"women"
k	kina	"who"	aki	"money"	sawik	"knife"
q	qipi	"twist"	uqsruq	"seal oil"	atiq	"name"

EXERCISE 3.1

Fill in the blanks with **k** or **q**:

1. qanu____ "how"
2. kuu____ "river"
3. ____aniq "mouth"

4. sawi____ "knife"
5. nuti____ "jump"
6. ami____ "skin"
7. puġi____ "smart"
8. a____in "pillow"
9. na____u "cross the eyes"
10. qa____i "climb out of the water"
11. umi____ "whisker"
12. ____iŋaq "nose"
13. tupa____ "wake up"
14. ____argi "men's house"
15. ____iun "tooth"
16. ____ina "who?"
17. ____ablu "eyebrow"
18. ____ublu "thumb"
19. ____umak "louse"
20. mi____sruq "it is small"
21. aġna____ "woman"
22. ŋuti____ "two men"

EXERCISE 3.2

Fill in the blanks with any stop consonant, **p, t, k, or q**:

1. ____atiq "bone marrow"
   ____atiq "white"
2. ____ipi "odor"
   ____ipi "twist"
   ____ipi "crosscut; give a haircut"
3. ____aniq "mouth"

	____aniq	"dry"
4.	i____i	"burn"
	i____i	"drown"
5.	a____i	"be covered with snow"
	a____i	"be alike"
	a____i	"money"
6.	____uuq	"sack, poke"
	____uuq	"ice chisel"
7.	i____u	"patch of salmonberries"
	i____u	"a handle"
8.	____iniq	"insole"
	____iniq	"look"
9.	ami____	"be narrow"
	ami____	"skin"
10.	____alu	"dipnet"
	____alu	"lose weight"

EXERCISE 3.3

Fill in the blanks with **p, t, k, q, or '.**

1.	sa____i	"to block"
2.	i____paq	"recently"
3.	____atik	"bird breast"
4.	____ubraq	"fishnet"
5.	pini____	"insole"
6.	si____u	"slide down"
7.	____aa____	"dark"
8.	i____i	"drown"
9.	____ui	"spill"

10. si____it "bow the head"
11. ta____u "go check on"
12. pa___i____ "bird tail"
13. ____ui____ "cough"
14. ta____tu "kidney"
15. ____allu____ "turn upside down"
16. ni____i "sound"
17. ____utu____ "collarbone"
18. aġvi____ "whale"
19. i____tu____ "spruce hen"
20. ____iki____ "index finger"

CHAPTER FOUR
LONG VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

Any vowel may also be written double to give a long vowel:

aa **ii** **uu**

These vowels sound like the short vowels **a, i, u**, but they are pronounced longer. These pairs of words show the difference between long and short vowel sounds:

a	**ani**	"go out"	**aa**	**aasin**	"enough"
	amaq	"put a baby on one's back"		**amaaq**	"carry a baby on one's back"
i	**sinik**	"sleep"	**ii**	**siik**	"cut fish"
	amiq	"skin"		**amiiq**	"remove skin"
u	**utiq**	"return"	**uu**	**uutuq**	"he got burned"
	aŋun	"man"		**aŋuun**	"paddle"

These long vowels may occur at the beginning, middle, or end of a word. As some of the above examples show, it is important to write the difference between long and short vowels, since confusion of the two may completely change the meaning of the word that is written.

Read the following groups of words out loud. Most are groups of sounds made up for practice, although some are actual words:

1. una	2. kiina	3. sawik
uuna	kina	saawik
unaa	kiinaa	sawiik
uunaa	kinaa	saawiik
4. tumik	5. siniik	6. qaniq
tumiik	sinik	qaniiq

tuumik	siiniik	qaaniq
tuumiik	siinik	qaaniiq
7. iinuk	8. aŋuun	9. aamiq
inuk	aaŋuun	aamiiq
inuuk	aaŋun	amiq
iinuuk	aŋun	amiiq

Two single vowels may join to form a **vowel pair** or **diphthong**. The six diphthongs of Inupiaq are **ai, ia, au, ua, iu,** and **ui**. No more than two vowels may occur together.

The diphthong **ai** sounds like the English word **I** or the vowel in **my**.

ai	**aiviq**	"walrus"	**nai**	"to smell"
	sawikpait	"big knives"	**ai**	"what?"
	aigaa	"he fetched it"	**pai**	"stay behind"

To pronounce **ia**, say the sounds **i** and **a** in rapid succession:

ia	**pianik**	"already do"	**qia**	"cry"
	kiati	"upper body"	**kikiak**	"nail"
	agiaq	"file"	**amia**	"its skin"
	Inupiaq	"Eskimo"		

au sounds much like the vowel in the English word **cow**:

au	**auk**	"blood"	**kauk**	"walrus skin"
	sauniq	"bone"	**qauq**	"forehead"
	amauq	"great-grandparent"		

To pronounce **ua**, say the vowels **u** and **a** in rapid succession:

ua	**suak**	"fish egg"	ilua	"its inside"
	quaq	"frozen fish"	**inuaq**	"to murder"
	situaq	"beluga"		

iu sounds like **i** plus **u** and **ui** sounds like **u** plus **i**:

iu	**kiu**	"to answer"	**niu**	"leg"
	siun	"ear"	**kiun**	"tooth"
	Malimiu	"Malimiut Inupiaq person"		
ui	**ui**	"husband"	**nui**	"appear"
	pui	"to surface"	**uiniq**	"skin"
	suilaq	"he has nothing"		

Review the sounds of the long vowels (**aa, ii, uu**) and the diphthongs (**ai, ia, au, ua, iu, ui**) by practicing reading and saying them. Then do the following exercises.

EXERCISE 4.1

Fill in the correct long vowel -- **aa ii uu**:

1. m____ni "located here"
2. p____laq "he's not here"
3. at____ta "father"
4. s____va "what is it?"
5. s____k "to cut fish"
6. ____q "have an open sore"
7. p____q "sack, bag"
8. n____mak "be enough"
9. iġ____q "become awake"
10. k____piaq "coffee"
11. s____laq "lard, shortening"
12. k____k "river"
13. s____ "front of something"
14. ____ka "mother"
15. im____ŋaq "blackfish"

16. q____niq "for water to be still"
17. saw____t "knives"
18. t____q "ice chisel"
19. aġ____n "boat rudder"
20. q____q "mattress"

EXERCISE 4.2

Fill in the correct short vowel (**a, i, u**) or long vowel (**aa, ii, uu**):

1. t____l____q "arm"
2. n____t____q "it is snagged"
3. n____t____q "he moved"
4. p____g____ "mouth of a river"
5. s____v____t "what are they?"
6. ____t____ "bottom of something"
7. n___k___r___q "it's good"
8. m____nn____k "two eggs"
9. ____l____n "saw"
10. s____sk____q "cup"
11. ____ŋ____n "a paddle"
12. t___tt___w___k "two moose"
13. ____gr____k "bearded seal"
14. p___l___tk___q "tent"
15. ____t____n "song"
16. p___k___n___ "located up there"
17. ____nn____n "go out!"
18. s____n____ "its shore, edge"
19. s____g____ "the front of it"
20. ____m____q "to remove a skin"

EXERCISE 4.3

Fill in short or long vowels (**a, i, u,** or **aa, ii, uu**):

1.	___g___r___q	"she is cooking"
	ig____niktuq	"she already cooked"
2.	____kk____	"across there"
	____k____ni	"located across there"
3.	____s____ruq	"he swallowed something"
	____s____q	"smoke"
4.	s____n____k	"sleep"
	s____kt____gi	"the fish she cut"
5.	il____	"he, she"
	il____	"a relative"
6.	p____n____k	"daughter"
	p____n____k	"two daughters"
7.	n____l____k	"hear"
	n____l____k	"plunge into the water"
8.	n____l____	"not know"
	n____l____	"finish it"
9.	s____w____ga	"his work"
	s____witk____	"he is handling it"
10.	s____n	"the front of your clothing"
	s____n____	"carve"

CHAPTER FIVE
SYLLABLES

Syllables are units that make up words. Each syllable has at least one vowel and possibly a consonant on either side of the vowel. Syllables that end in a vowel are called OPEN syllables, and those ending in a consonant are CLOSED syllables. Read the following open syllables out loud:

a	pa	ta	ka	qa
i	pi	ti	ki	qi
u	pu	tu	ku	qu

A word like **putu** "hole" is made up of two open syllables. The syllables may be divided using a slash (/) between them: **pu/tu**. If you pronounce the word **putu** very slowly, you may hear a brief pause between the **u** and the **t**, although not between any other sounds. The pause is the division between the syllables.

When a consonant comes between two vowels, it belongs to the same syllable as the following vowel and never the preceding vowel. The word **una** may then be divided into syllables as **u/na**, and NOT as **un/a**. Whenever syllables are divided, there is always a single consonant to the right of the slash.

Some words are made up of open syllables only:

apun	"snow"	a/pun
nanuq	"polar bear"	na/nuq
qayaġa	"my kayak"	qa/ya/ġa
nalurusi	"you all don't know"	na/lu/ru/si

The following syllables are called "closed" because they end in a consonant. A closed syllable may begin with either a vowel or a consonant.

a	aq	paq	taq	kaq	qaq
i	iq	piq	tiq	kiq	qiq

u uq puq tuq kuq quq

Replace the final syllable of each syllable above with **k** and pronounce them (ak, pak, tak, etc.). Do the same making t the final consonant of each syllable (at, pat, tat, etc.).

When two consonants come together in the middle of a word, they are in separate syllables. The first consonant belongs to the same syllable as the preceding vowel, and the second consonant belongs to the same syllable as the following vowel.

The following words consist of syllables that are all closed:

atqin	"your name"	at/qin
atqaqtuq	"he went down"	at/qaq/tuq
ikpaksraq	"yesterday"	ik/pak/sraq
aaqsruqtut	"they got blisters"	qaaq/sruq/tut

When two different consonants stand next to each other, this is called a **consonant cluster**. Consonant clusters may not begin or end words, but come only in the middle of words. Three consonants may never come together, for instance, **ptk** may never stand together in an Inupiaq word.

The symbols **sr, kh,** and **qh** each represent one consonant, even though they are written with two letters. A syllable may NEVER be divided between **s** and **r** (not s/r) or between **k** and **h** or **q** and **h**. **ksr** is then a cluster containing two consonants divided as **k/sr**, even though it is written with three symbols.

Below are listed possible combinations of two stop consonants. Not all of these combinations actually occur in the language, and those that do not occur are followed by a broken line. (**k** and **q** may never come together.)

pt	niptailaq	"it is hazy weather"
pk	ipkua	"those of long ago"
pq	apqun	"old trail"

tp	itpiit	"are you there?"
tk	satku	"hunter's bow"
tq	mitquq	"fur, feather"
kp	ikpik	"bluff"
kt	iktuk	"spruce hen"
kq	-----	
qp	aqpik	"salmonberry"
qt	aqtuġaa	"it's too heavy for him"
kq	-----	

Like the elements of consonant clusters, double consonants (such as **pp** or **tt**) always belong to separate syllables. The following examples show how to treat double consonants when dividing a word into syllables:

ippaq	"lick the plate clean"	ip/paq
ittuq	"it is there"	it/tuq
pikkaa	"up there"	pik/kaa
taqqiq	"moon"	taq/qiq

As always, after each slash, there is one consonant followed by a vowel.

Long (double) vowels (**aa, ii, uu**) and diphthongs or vowel pairs (**ai, ia, au,** etc.) always belong to the same syllable and are never broken up by a syllable division (not a/a, a/u, etc.). These words have only one syllable:

puuq	"sack"	saa	"front of something"
quaq	"frozen meat, fish"	niu	"leg"

These words contain diphthongs (vowel pairs) and have more than one syllable:

niuriruq	"he is unloading something"	niu/ri/ruq
qauruq	"it is light"	qau/ma/ruq
sauniq	"bone"	sau/niq
qiurut	"they froze to death"	qiu/rut

As you learn to read and write, it is useful to divide words into syllables. In this way you can consider parts of words one at a time, knowing that they can all be put back together to make a complete word. This technique is especially helpful for beginners who are learning to read and write long words.

EXERCISE 5.1

Pronounce the following words, divide them into syllables and tell whether the syllables are open or closed:

1.	amiġa	"my skin"	6.	atniqtuŋa	"I got hurt"
2.	aivġit	"walruses"	7.	maniktuq	"it is smooth"
3.	atigit	"parka"	8.	aullaqtut	"they went away"
4.	kurgit	"rivers"	9.	atausiq	"one"
5.	nuġi	"wind"	10.	kaŋiiġaayak	"five-gallon can"

EXERCISE 5.2

Fill in the blanks with **k** or **q**.

1.	i____siruq	"he threw something away"
	i____siruq	"he is scared"
2.	____ilu	"muscle cramp"
	____ilu	"stitch"
3.	____iniqtuq	"he sees something"
	____iniqtuq	"it is thick soup"
4.	____ipigaa	"he cut it"
	____ipigaa	"he twisted it"
5.	mani____	"tussock, clump of grass"
	mani____	"to be smooth"

EXERCISE 5.3

Divide these words into syllables, using a slash (/) to mark syllable divisions. Be sure to read long words one syllable at a time to make them easier.

1. aġnaq "woman"
2. taqqiq "moon"
3. quppaq "crack"
4. tuttutut "they got caribou"
5. tiŋisuutiqaqtuk "they two have an airplane"
6. umiaqtuqłiuqtuut "we will go out in a boat"
7. qaqqisuktuq "she wants to bake bread"
8. iriġaġuktuaq "hermit, recluse"
9. manŋuktuq "meat is thawed enough to cut"
10. qiqłiwik "freezer"

EXERCISE 5.4

Fill in the blanks with the correct consonant cluster (two consonants):

1. a____ ____a "his name"
2. u____ ____ik "willow"
3. mi____ ____uq "feather"
4. u____ ____ik "snowy owl"
5. i____ ____iit "are you there?"
6. i____ ____ik "high river bank"
7. kata____ ____ut "they fell"
8. sawi____ ____ak "big knife"
9. a____ ____it "start to sing"
10. ta____ ____u "kidney"
11. ma____ ____ak "whale skin with blubber"
12. ta____ ____ik "have good vision"
13. na____ ____it "floors"
14. anii____ ____uq "he is playing outdoors"
15. paipa____ ____uq "he is smoking"

CHAPTER SIX
VOICED FRICATIVES

The Inupiaq letters **v, r, y, l, g, ġ** all stand for voiced fricatives. Fricatives are made by restricting the passage of air through the mouth, so that the air is made to rush through a small space, producing an audible noise. Remember that with a stop, the flow of air is totally blocked and then released; stop sounds are instantaneous and cannot be held. A fricative is a continuous sound that can be held as long as air flows from the lungs. Fricatives, like stops, may be long (double) or short (single). The fricatives presented here are voiced because the vocal cords are closed and made to vibrate by the air rushing past.

v: The Inupiaq voiced fricative **v** sounds like its equivalent in English. Pronounce the following Inupiaq words containing **v:**

itivit	"make a portage"	**ibru**	"sod"
abluq	"take a step"	**puubraq**	"swim"
qablu	"eyebrow"	**aurvik**	"caterpillar"

v may not occur at the end of a word, although a few rare words do begin with **v** like **viġvinaq** "to be frustrating".

l: Inupiaq **l** is like the English **l** in **hilly** or **miller**. Pronounce these Inupiaq words which contain **l:**

ulu	"woman's knife"	**silali**	"get a suntan"
malġi	"a twin"	**iġaluk**	"fish"

No words end with **l**, although occasional words may begin with **l** like **liġliq** "goose" or **luġlu** "loop".

r: The Inupiaq **r** is different from the English **r**. In Inupiaq the tip of the tongue touches the ridge behind the upper teeth when you say **r.**

iri	"eye"	**argak**	"hand"

qugruk	"swan"	**aġra**	"ash"

Inupiaq words do not begin or end with **r**.

y: The Inupiaq **y** sounds very much like the English **y**. Pronounce these words which contain **y**:

nuyaq	"hair"	**qayaq**	"kayak"
ayak	"pole"	**qayuutaq**	"robin"

A small number of words begin with **y**, like **yuuqaq** "hot beverage" and **yuuksaqti** "doctor". No words end with **y**.

g: When it is before a vowel, Inupiaq **g** is a fricative unlike the English **g**, which is a stop. Compare the Inupiaq **g** in **iga** "cook" with the English **g** in **eager**, and notice the difference. Pronounce these Inupiaq words containing **g** between vowels and before a consonant:

igaliq	"window"	**igaq**	"tattoo"
qargi	"men's house"	**irgaak**	"eyeglasses"
iga	"to cook"	**agiaq**	"file"

When **g** comes before another consonant as part of a cluster, it is a stop and sounds like the English **g**:

ugruk	"bearded seal"	**qargi**	"men's house"
aglak	"write"	**qugruk**	"swan"

ġ: The voiced fricative **ġ** is pronounced farther back in the throat than **g**, as in these examples:

niġi	"meat"	**aġnaq**	"woman"
maġa	"flatland"	**quġliaq**	"slobber"

No words begin or end with **ġ**.

It is important to recognize the difference between **g** and **ġ** and to learn to write them correctly. If you compare the words **tagiuq** "to sneeze" and **taġiuq** "salt", you will see that confusion in spelling can change the meaning of a word.

EXERCISE 6.1

Fill in the blanks with a voiced fricative (**v, l, r, y, w, g, ġ**):

1.	sa____ik	"knife"
2.	a____iktuq	"it tore"
3.	a____iaq	"file"
4.	i____i	"eye"
5.	pa____uk	"bring food to someone"
6.	alui____aq	"sourdock"
7.	i____a	"relative"
8.	a____iuq	"salt"
9.	ta____iuq	"sneeze"
10.	i____uani	"inside it"
11.	i____a____aa	"she cooked it"
12.	tuu____aa	"he broke it with an ice chisel"
13.	su____i	"also, and"
14.	ni____aq	"snare"
15.	mi____iaq	"vomit"
16.	mi____uq	"hit with a rock"
17.	a____ik	"divide in half"
18.	ni____laq	"cool off"
19.	isi____vik	"chimney"
20.	sa____lu	"tell a lie"

EXERCISE 6.2

Fill in **g** or **ġ**:

1.	a____it	"to be soft"
2.	i____a	"to cook"
3.	a____viq	"bowhead whale"

4. pussu____iaq "snowshoe"
5. i____lua "the other of a pair"
6. a____ra "ash"
7. qu____vik "honeybucket"
8. siu____ani "in the bow of the boat"
9. si____raaq "tarpaulin for sled"
10. si____iqtuq "it splashed"
11. li____liq "goose"
12. ama____uq "wolf"
13. a____li "grow, get big"
14. umia____a "my boat"
15. a____la____wik "desk"
16. i____itaq "pluck a bird"
17. qimu____un "dog"
18. pa____it "find"
19. na____ruk "antler"
20. qini____aa "he saw it"

EXERCISE 6.3

Fill in the blanks with a cluster of two voiced fricatives (for example, **gl** or **vġ**):

1. ai____ ____it "walruses"
2. aġa____ ____it "ptarmigan"
3. na____ ____uit "antlers"
4. ma____ ____k "two"
5. i____ ____it "you"
6. a____ ____a "ash"
7. i____ ____t "you"
8. qa____ ____un "seine net"

9. mayu____ ____ik "place to climb"
10. i____ ____aq "laugh"
11. su____ ____u "nasal cavity"
12. sa____ ____aq "current in water"
13. qa____ ____uq "bullet"
14. qa____ ____uq "for an animal to call"
15. na____ ____aq "lake"
16. iŋi____ ____aan "long ago"
17. a____ ____uq "to cut up food for cooking"
18. a____ ____u "sled runner"
19. i____ ____awiit "intestines"
20. a____ ____uraq "wire"

CHAPTER SEVEN
VOICELESS FRICATIVES

The last chapter presented voiced fricatives, which are made with the vocal cords closed and vibrating from the passing stream of air. If the vocal cords are open and do not vibrate, a voiceless sound is produced, for example, the voiceless fricatives of Inupiaq, which are

f **s** **ł** **sr** **kh** **qh.**

Voiceless fricatives have equivalent voiced fricatives, giving pairs of fricatives. Here are the sounds that pair with the voiceless fricatives above:

Voiceless	Voiced
f	v
s	z
ł	l
sr	r
kh	g
qh	ġ

Of course, the **z** sound is not used in Qawiaraq, although it is in the Bering Strait dialect of Inupiaq. All the other sounds listed are used. If you say the sound of each of these consonant pairs, you should see the similarity (say the sound of **f**, then **v**, and so forth).

f is a very rare sound in Inupiaq, but it may be found before a consonant in a word like **laafkaq** "store" (borrowed from Russian) or in **qaffik** "wolverine", where it is double. It sounds like English **f** and should pose no problem for writing or reading.

s in Inupiaq sounds just like English **s**, and may come in the beginning or middle, but not at the end of a word. It may be double or single:

sawik	"knife"	siti	"burrow"
isiq	"smoke"	kisit	"count"
kisaq	"anchor"	assak	"aunt"

ł is a sound called "l with a slash" or "barred l" and is like no sound in English. It is never found at the beginning or end of an Inupiaq word, but only in the middle, usually in a cluster next to another consonant. It may be double or single.

akłaq	"brown bear"	qaniłiq	"word"
ułłak	"go up to someone"	qałqhapak	"axe"

sr in Inupiaq is not identical to any English sound, but it does resemble the sound of the **shr** in **shrink**. **sr** comes only in the middle of words, never at the beginning or end. It is usually right after a stop consonant; sometimes it comes between vowels and then it is long or double and written **srr**:

ikpaksraq	"yesterday"	uqsruq	"oil"
siksrik	"ground squirrel"	isrri	"severe cold"

kh has no equivalent in English. It may not begin or end an Inupiaq word and must come between two vowels or after **ł**. Although it contains two letters, **kh** is considered a single consonant:

sinikhama	"when I sleep"
niġikhami	"when he eats"
aġuikhamnuk	"when we two walk"
puġikhapta	"when we are smart"

qh is a voiceless fricative pronounced further back in the throat than **kh**, just as **q** is further back than **k**. It also comes only between two vowels and is considered a single consonant:

ayaqhaaq	"string game"	qaniłqhit	"words"
iniqhama	"when I finish"	iłqhuaġniq	"smelt"
atqaqhawit	"when you go down"	iłqha	"his being"
iniqhapta	"when we finish"	sawiłqhaq	"metal"
quqhiq	"cough"		

EXERCISE 7.1

Fill in the blanks with the appropriate voiceless fricative(**f, s, ł, sr, kh, qh**):

1.	pa____igaa	"he blamed him"
2.	qaq____u	"lip"
3.	ipik____uni	"it, being sharp"
4.	numaa____aq	"shirt"
5.	piŋa____ut	"three"
6.	sik____aq	"pickaxe"
7.	____aputit	"dam"
8.	awi____ami	"when it split in two"
9.	uq____uq	"seal oil"
10.	iq____u	"large intestine, rectum"
11.	sa____iktuq	"it is messy"
12.	na____aq	"hood"
13.	a____ukiaq	"too bad!"
14.	tak____uaq	"something long"
15.	Qa____taq	"Kaltag"

EXERCISE 7.2

Fill in the blanks with a voiced OR voiceless fricative:

1.	mi____uktuq	"it is sucking"
2.	a____ui____uq	"he is walking"
3.	kub____aq	"fishnet"

4. i____ ____aq "laugh"
5. ak____ik "touch"
6. iti____ak "foot"
7. imi____aa "he drank it"
8. ta____a____niq "wrist"
9. i____iptun "like you"
10. su____ ____u "nasal cavity"
11. a____uaq "boil on the skin"
12. i____ ____it "you"
13. u___u___u "nephew"
14. u____ ____uk "bearded seal"
15. a____ ____u "sled runner"
16. kii____aa "it bit him"
17. qi____ak "sky"
18. mik____uq "it is small"
19. a____u____aq "uncle's wife"
20. a____ ____uq "travel against the wind"

EXERCISE 7.3

Fill in the blanks with a voiced or voiceless fricative:

1. qu____it "ten"
2. a____ ____ak "hand"
3. mi____u____uq "juice"
4. atau____iq "one"
5. aana____a "my grandmother"
6. a____ui____ukpiit "do you want to walk?"
7. pi____ ____ruq "he is capable"
8. ni____i____uut "we are eating"

9. si____a____iilaq "it is bad weather"
10. i____ ____uġaa "it congealed, clotted"
11. a____ ____iq "pancake"
12. iu____aq "pintail duck"
13. ka____iqtuq "it is red"
14. mab____aktuq "she is fleshing a skin"
15. qa____ ____apak "axe"

CHAPTER EIGHT
NASAL CONSONANTS

The last Inupiaq consonants to consider are the nasals:

m **n** **ŋ**.

When a nasal sound is made, air from the lungs is allowed to pass through the nose rather than the mouth.

The nasal consonants **m** and **n** have the same sound in Inupiaq as in English. **ŋ** has the sound of **ng** in English **singer** or **ring** (NOT the same sound as in **finger**, which has an added **g**).

m may come at any point in the word, beginning, middle, or end:

maniq	"tussock"	**amiq**	"skin"	**aġnam**	"woman's"
matu	"cover"	**kumak**	"louse"	**umiam**	"boat's"

n may also occur at any point in the word, beginning, middle, or end:

naniq	"light"	**ini**	"house"	**suppun**	"gun"
natiq	"floor"	**qaniq**	"mouth"	**timin**	"your body"

ŋ is found only in the middle or at the end of a word, not in the beginning.

aŋun	"man"	**paniiŋ**	"daughter!"
qaŋa	"when?"	**qitunġatiŋ**	"their sons"
kamŋa	"his boot"	**niġipłutiŋ**	"they, eating"

EXERCISE 8.1

Fill in the blanks with **n** or **ŋ**:

1. a____i "come back to life"
2. a____i "go out"
3. ma____uk "to put something underneath"
4. ma____i "show"
5. ___a____it "be sick"

6. aġ___a___ ___un "to the two women"
7. u____iat "sled"
8. qitu____ġa____i "his own son"
9. qu____ ____iq "reindeer"
10. naku____a "be cross-eyed"

EXERCISE 8.2

Fill in the blanks with **m, n,** or **ŋ**:

1. i____iq "to finish"
2. i____i "house"
3. ____a____iq "lamp"
4. niaqu____ "your head"
5. ____u____iġ____iq "drifted tree trunk with roots"
6. qi____aq "nose"
7. qi____iq "look"
8. qu____usiq "neck"
9. ____u____ruq "it's all used up"
10. ivgu____ "towel, napkin"
11. i____uk "person"
12. ____iġġii____ "eat!"
13. ki____iaq "turn the head"
14. pi____asut "three"
15. ____aataq "gray owl"
16. ni____au "son-in-law"
17. ti____isuu____ "airplane"
18. aa____ ____uq "knock someone out"
19. ma____ ____uk "thaw meat so that it can be cut"
20. pa____ ____iq "bull caribou"

CHAPTER NINE
LONG CONSONANTS

Consonants in Inupiaq are either short or long. As with vowels, long consonants are written with a double letter. For instance, long **p** is **pp** and long **g** is **gg**. The only exceptions to the rule of doubling letters is with the digraphs **sr, kh**, and **qh**. Long **sr** is **srr**, long **kh** is **khh**, and long **qh** is **qhh**.

Compare the words **panik** "daughter" and **pannik** "two daughters", and notice the long **n** in the second word. Compare **imiq** "drink" and **immiq** "be full", and notice the difference in the **m**'s. It is important to write the difference between long and short consonants, so that words that differ in the length of a consonant are not confused.

Here are some examples of long stop consonants. **b** and **'** (glottal stop) cannot be long.

pp	suppun	"gun"	quppaq	"crack"
	sippaq	"remainder"	ippaq	"lick the plate"
tt	qattaq	"bucket"	mattaq	"undress"
	ittuq	"is"	tuttu	"caribou"
kk	ikkiq	"hardwood"	akkuni	"a while ago"
	pikkaa	"up there"	tukkuu	"have guests"
qq	iqquq	"buttock"	taqqiq	"moon"
	miqqun	"needle"	qaqqi	"bake bread"

Long voiced fricatives are also found. They are **vv, rr, ll, yy, gg, ġġ. w** cannot be long.

vv	uvvaa	"here"	avvaq	"half"
	sivvuq	"wring out"	kivvaa	"inside"
rr	marraa	"here"	tarra	"it's over"

	irruaq	"mimic"	narrak	"belly"
l	allaq	"a rip"	alluaq	"ice fishing hole"
	qulliq	"top one"	illuk	"be snowblind"
yy	ayyak	"reject"	quyyan	"gift in gratitude"
	qayyat	"kayaks"	qayyiuġun	"phalarope"
gg	iggain	"cook!"	paggaa	"up there"
	sigguuk	"beak"	aggiq	"be coming far off"
ġġ	niġġiwik	"table"	qaġġain	"come!"
	aġġi	"celebrate"	nuġġaq	"fawn"

Long voiceless fricatives are not as common as long stops, but they are also found. Remember that long **sr** is **srr**, long **kh** is **khh** and long **qh** is **qhh**:

ss	sassaq	"clock"	assiq	"to name"
	issuġwik	"toilet"	nassik	"want to go along"
łł	ałła	"another"	qułłiq	"Siberian"
	ałłaani	"last year"	piłłuk	"have an accident"
srr	asrri	"copy"	isrri	"severe cold"
	usrraq	"fermented flipper"		
khh	sikhhayuk	"be eager"		
qhh	uqhhaq	"lead"		

All three nasal consonants can also be long and are then written double:

mm	tammaq	"to lose"	samma	"apparently"
	ammik	"two skins"	imma	"quiet so I can hear!"
nn	mannik	"egg"	kannuyaq	"copper"
	manna	"this one"	nanniq	"light a lamp"
ŋŋ	quŋŋuq	"grave"	aŋŋaq	"keep saying yes"
	iŋŋiq	"beetle"	aŋŋuuŋ	"catch up to him!"

EXERCISE 9.1

Fill in the blanks with a long stop consonant (**pp, tt, kk, qq**):

1. i_____aq "lick something clean"
2. ma_____aq "take off one's parka"
3. mi_____un "needle"
4. qu_____aq "crack"
5. pu_____uq "he is bending down"
6. ma_____ak "diaper"
7. i_____uŋa "I am here"
8. i_____aa "across there"
9. pa_____uq "for a couple to fight"
10. ka_____ik "mucus"

EXERCISE 9.2

Fill in the blanks with a long voiced fricative (**vv, ll, rr, yy, gg, ġġ**):

1. nu_____aq "reindeer fawn"
2. pa_____aa "up there"
3. i_____aatqusiq "porcupine"
4. i_____usiq "condition"
5. ta_____aq "shadow"
6. a_____u "seal's breathing hole"
7. na_____uti "plant stem"
8. ma_____it "be unable to keep up"
9. a_____utaq "play ice hockey"
10. ki_____iuq "to sweat, perspire"
11. ta_____ikin "your two arms"
12. i_____aġriq "black bear"
13. qa_____aa "out there"

14. ta____i "scrub the floor"

15. tu_____aq "push, prod"

EXERCISE 9.3

Fill in the blanks with a long nasal consonant (**mm, nn, ŋŋ**):

1. ka_____ak "pair of skin boots"
2. qi_____ak "two nostrils"
3. u_____uaq "night"
4. si_____aktuq "dream"
5. a_____it "skins"
6. si_____ik "pair of shoelaces"
7. ka_____aa "down there"
8. i_____aa "over there"
9. qa_____ik "snowflake"
10. si_____iq "exchange"

EXERCISE 9.4

Fill in the blanks with any long consonant:

1. ni_____iuŋ "eat it!"
2. i_____awik "kitchen"
3. i_____iuŋ "put it somewhere!"
4. qa_____a "inside there"
5. qa_____augaq "bucket"
6. ku_____uq "spruce gum"
7. i_____iuŋ "swallow it!"
8. a_____itnaq "bag for hunting gear"
9. ma_____a "this one"
10. qa_____uq "bread"
11. ka_____iwik "pincushion"

12. a_____uaq "catch something thrown"
13. qi_____iuq "chop wood"
14. qa_____un "cup"
15. a_____uuŋ "catch up to it!"
16. u_____uksaq "evening"
17. ku_____i "have food caught in one's teeth"
18. ki_____uq "it sank"
19. ku_____ak "flood, of a river"
20. na_____ik "not want to be left behind"
21. na_____aq "to stand something on end"
22. na_____aq "a break, fracture"
23. pa_____aġluk "to be too dry"
24. na_____iq "hair seal"
25. na_____aq "dive"

EXERCISE 9.5

Fill in the blanks with any short or long consonant:

1. i_____aruq "she is cooking"
   i_____ain "cook!"
2. pa_____ik "two daughters"
   pa_____ik "one daughter"
3. i_____i "eye"
   i_____it "get something in the eye"
4. i_____ani "remember when"
   i_____a "quiet so I can hear!"
5. i_____ut "insides, guts"
   i_____ut "cross-cousins"
6. si_____aktuq "dream"

	si_____ik	"sleep"
7.	a_____i	"kick"
	a_____iuŋ	"kick it!"
8.	ti_____i	"to order someone"
	ti_____in	"a command"
9.	qu_____uaq	"break the collarbone"
	qu_____uk	"collarbone"
10.	ki_____uk	"stitch"
	ki_____uq	"something wrong, error, sin"

On the subject of long consonants, it is important to point out that the difference between short and long consonants is important only after a short vowel in the first syllable of the word. For example, a pair like **tili** and **tillin** (no. 8 above) involves the difference between **l** and **ll** after a short vowel in the first syllable. After a long vowel, consonants are always pronounced long, or somewhat long, and so we don't need to write them long since it is automatic. In these words the consonant after the long vowel sounds somewhat long:

aiqan	"mitten"
Aŋaayun	"God"
aaqaa	"it stinks!"
quuniq	"calm water"
piilaq	"he is not there"

Another rule that affects long consonants says that every other consonant in a word is long. Consonants after long vowels are always long.

aġġiruŋa	"I am celebrating"
niġiruŋa	"I am eating"

In the first word, **ġġ** is long, so **r** must be short and then **ŋ** is long again. In the second word, **ġ** is short, so **r** is slightly long, and then **ŋ** is short again. Because

of this pattern, we know which consonants will sound somewhat long and which will be short. But the pattern begins after a short vowel in the first syllable, and this is the only kind of consonant that we need to write double when it is long. In all other cases, the long sound is automatic.